133 gone eight miles he crossed Gopher Creek, which probably dried during the summer, and after having gone a total of thirty-four miles he camped on Cottonwood Creek which he said was a constant stream. This took him through a no-man's-land unclaimed, so far as we know, by any Yokuts tribe.

[134] [136] The soil was not only of the most wretched description, dry, powdery and decomposed, but was everywhere burrowed by gophers, and a small animal resembling a common house rat... of a whitish grey color, short round body, and a very strong bony head. These animals are innumerable, though what they subsist upon I cannot conceive, for there is little or no vegetation. Their holes and burrows, into which a horse sinks to his knees at almost every step, render the travelling difficult and dangerous. The low hills south of Gopher Creek extend about eight miles into the plain, their summit being about on the same level as the plain between that stream and Moore's [Deer] Creek, and are singularly intersected by valleys running nearly south and north, which are crossed by other numerous small valleys running nearly east and west, thus dividing the whole of this portion of the valley into blocks of hills about a quarter of a mile square, and from one hundred to three hundred feet in height.[12]

Continuing southward on the 9th, Derby passed through country we believe belonged to the Tuhohi. He went thirteen miles along the north branch of the Kern River.

...a very broad deep stream with a current of six miles an hour, which, rising high up in the Sierra Nevada, discharges itself by two mouths into Buena Vista lake near its northern extremity. Three large sloughs also make out from the river near its mouth and from an extensive swamp in the plain upon the north bank of the lake. We found the river impassable with animals.

On the 10th, having got across Kern River, he reached Buena Vista Lake in Hometwali territory.

Buena Vista lake is a sheet of water about ten miles in length and from four to six miles in width; it lies about eight miles from the head of the valley formed by the junction of the ridges of the Coast Range and Sierra Nevada. Like other bodies of water in the valley it is nearly surrounded with tulé, and upon its north and east banks there is found a heavy growth of willows. A slough, some sixty miles in length, connects it with the swamp and bodies of standing water in the bed of Ton Taché, and through them with the great northern lake. The surrounding land is sterile and unproductive when not an absolute swamp, with the exception of

[12] Ibid., 255.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

and feed the great tular. To the west of its central waterway was barren ground little used save for rabbit drives by the Tachi; to the east was the fertile land watered by snows of the Sierra Nevada and shaded by the magnificent roblar, the great oak forest. Barren land spots were uninhabited, for as yet the great valley was not overpopulated and seed and game were plentiful. No famine nor wars for food are reported by the natives.

It will be seen that the dwellers about the lake and its fringe of swamp or tular had a very different environment from those of the tree filled foothills. Yet nowhere was the food quest a problem. Nothing could be more misleading than labeling the people of the San Joaquin Valley, whether the Yokuts lake tribes, the tribes of the foothills, or the Monachi of the mountains, "seed-gatherers" or "seed-eaters," as though their diet were preponderantly vegetarian.

Fish and water fowl abounded in the lake region, supplemented by ground squirrels, rabbits, and antelope from the near-by plains. In the foothills and mountains rabbit, squirrel, quail, pigeon, dove, and deer were the commonest meats. Early travelers, Spanish and American, testify in open amazement to the plentiful supply of game constantly at hand.[22] Acorns and seeds are not to be discounted as less important than meat, but they were not more important in daily diet.

The tabu on meat or grease which was enjoined at all times of religious or spiritual stress was not thought of as a personal sacrificial abstention because of the preciousness of meat: rather, meat and grease were substantial nutritious foods, ever at hand, and were to be omitted like the solid seed foods in order to attain that peculiar exalted physical condition brought about by fast or by the mechanical emptying of the stomach with tobacco and lime. Lack of food, whether meat or vegetable, did not constitute one of the hardships of life for the Yokuts and Western Mono.

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[22] Example of abundance: in the vicinity of Yokohl Valley (Yokod-Wukshumni territory) four men shot 300 quail in two days. Visalia Record, vol. 3, Nov. 7, 1861.

301 were many songs connected with this practice,
221 but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran, "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers." And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[52] Old men who could not wander out in the fields would ask children to make crowns for them too. There was no ceremonial significance to this activity, which was probably more widespread than one might expect, as there are hints of it [171] from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers, "particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the American River had a dance in which girls wore flower fillets and pelted spectators with flowers.[53]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

136 The following birds were identified by
825 J.A.; most of them were seen about her house and yard, others, like the crane, were seen during our trips into the fields within a two-mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´l:ts, "singer") "says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People in the foothills say that there are going to be lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful." Goldfinches (towi´n:ts; from towo´´o, yellow tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because [262] "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust all over themselves." They were eaten by some people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The common blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa). Those with white eyes are said to be the females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from ku'uts, small round clamshell beads. Western bluebirds (tsoitsoi´´inz) "come from the mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its, tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything; it is just his word." The mourning dove (upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'" [237] (hu´yu tuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill 844 (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water, and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's cry was thought to "sound like a baby." American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver to the birds in mythical times, "just like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened people as they crossed the bridge to the land

[353]

[52] J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[53] Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

136 of the dead. The following birds were named without comment: belted kingfisher (tsutatu´-klas); Steller's jay (tikai´ya [sic]); California jay (tai´tai); hummingbird (general) (hahe´tsui); Gairdner (?) woodpecker (ko'wo´-k:ts); California woodpecker (tiwe´sa); California [Valley] quail (saka´la) were scarce in old days but common now; red-shafted woodpecker [Flicker] (pala´tat); great blue heron (wa´hat); northern shrike (pe´lpil); western mockingbird (tikai´ya [sic]); yellow-headed blackbird (tolo´hono); pelican (ha´hal); Cooper's hawk (po´hiyon); kingfisher, variant (saka´ka); crow (ka´nkas); raven (ho´toi); sandhill crane (u´lats); prairie falcon (li´m:k); chicken hawk (sp. ?) (su´hup); eagle (sp. ?) (to´h:l).

The following were not identified but were described with considerable accuracy by J.A.; dubious descriptions are given with the informant's own words. Flies in general (mo´nai), housefly (pisa´tna), blowfly (ka´msal). Hornet [184 (?) (mi´nel); the Chunut and Tachi did not eat the nests with larvae but know Choinimni, Wukchumni, and other foothill people did. The 262] ground wasp (po'ao´nai) "is mean, lives in the ground, makes no honey and just raises young ones." The Telamni ate the young roasted on [262] coals, a dish called tap:´si, which was eaten with acorn mush. The furry bumblebee (lo´k'o) was known and "a bee with a hard back" (was'ha´lu). Small moths (a´nt'sa) and a "night" moth (toino´´:n ant'sa) were distinguished, while a very large spotted moth was called "eats dead people" (tatahe ta´´ats) and literally was believed to do so. Butterflies in general (woge´ki); the Monarch butterfly was called metaphorically "big bee" (mat:k lo´k'o), and the "cabbage" butterfly descriptively "little white butterfly" (tso´lol witsa´ha wogeki). Dragonflies (islo´li), mosquitoes (kas'ho´p), a black beetle (te´t:l), and the water weaver (soi´yol?) were mentioned by J.A. Small ants, either red or black, were called by the same name (ke´n:ts); tree ants (ha´sa') "smelled bad when killed"; the big ants which made hills were called "crazy ants" (lok'e´´:ts ken:ts).[*]

The tarantula (tu´muñ) was "a widow a long time ago"; less commonly the tarantula was called "bear" (noho´´o). J.A. does not think they were poisonous, "just mean, Mexicans sometimes make them fight." A large white spider (ko´lol k:´lwai) makes a web (otsti´ho) "just like crochet. We say about Spider, 'He

[192 829]

[*] J.A. says this is derived from the Spanish loco, that there was no concept or word "crazy" in the old times. Three young girls who ran around with Mexicans, got drunk, etc., were called both loco and alete´´:ts by the other Indians. The latter word means foolish or irresponsible, "crazy" in the American slang sense, not demented. J.A. insisted that alete´´:ts is not a native word, but I can find no Spanish source for it.

136 carries string' (ṭo´ntom si´lwa)." The black
825 spider with red spot on belly (Black Widow?) is called me´tsa, a term applied to powerful shamans, which means "true, real, big, powerful." Another spider with black, red, and yellow markings is called "coyote" (cai´'yu) "because every time it is thrown away it comes back. These are all mean and bite. The Wowol call to be bitten by one 'to be broken' (ṭa´ṭaiṭa´ṭai)." This is because a paralysis results so the limb is immovable "like broken
[752] to pieces." There was no attempt at medicinal cure; no swelling resulted and mobility eventually returned.

The centipede (ta·ka´l ta·ka´l) was feared because "it stung with its feet and there was no cure, you just died." The scorpion (pite´-t'ts) was "partner to that other one [centipede], he lives in the ground, has six legs, a round body and a little tail that sticks up and stings you. It hurts awful but you don't die."

136 Lizards in general were called ko´ntedi.
825 "Kontedi was Coyote's son." A big blue lizard
773 was solo´toi'i. A small lizard (wile´li) and another one "with colors on it" were known in the foothills and called by the same name. "This one sang when he went to dance: 'You are not supernatural; Lizard is supernatural' (o´ho ma ṭ'´pni; wile´li ṭ'´pni)." Lizard was sometimes euphemistically referred to as "my ten fingers" (ṭi´y nan pu´ntuk), referring to his hands which served as the pattern for human hands.[3]

Pollywog (se·yao´siyao'i) "had some kind of song in old times; another one (po´'ol'lwai) was like a pollywog but bigger." Waterdog (we´tpot) "looked just like a baby." Another creature which might be a skink, as he was "something like a waterdog but more like a lizard," was called alaṭa´na.

136 Once I [J.A.] was out picking wild onions;
825 I was kneeling on the ground when I heard something say "tststs" near by. "What's that?" I said. My nephew showed me an alaṭana right under my knees. He said, "That's alaṭana. Isn't he pretty?" Then he told me that you must always say how pretty he was or he would make you sick. So I just kept on picking onions and said, "My, isn't he pretty," although I didn't know whether it was a boy or a girl. He has little eyes, nose, mouth, and ears just like a person.

Frogs in general were called koi´''stawat. The bullfrog was called o'oi´'ts by the Tachi, but wipel'ts (singer) by the Wowol and Chumut "because he sang all night." Children liked to
[262] pull them out of ponds but were always told to put them back. They were never eaten.

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[3] Gayton and Newman, 56, abstract 9, note 4.

136 825 Two unrecognizable creatures were described by J.A. One was called "acorn" (e´s:n) "because it is red like an acorn. It comes out of the ground just after sunrise and flies off." The other (čitbo´bi) might possibly be horned toad; it lives in the ground, has horns, a tail, is flat, is gray with black spots, it has four legs but walks rather than hops.

Nature

821 Thunder (kunumu´mwiya) is personified in charmstones called u´nok (see Rain-Making, p. 37)

Unok can be dreamed; when it likes you, you can find pretty ones. Unok is thunder: there are four brothers, two are triangular tule (pu´muk) and two round tule (po´ton). Poton is soft, rolling thunder and Pumuk is loud and explosive.

Once after sundown on the day of a big storm Teresa saw a man on the horizon, he was wearing ceremonial feather garments and was dancing the kam [the ordinary doctor's dancing step].

J.A. amplified her statement later (1929). She said thunder is made by two brothers who shake tules. Pumuk, the triangular tule, is the worst, he is mean and smashes things. The little flat tule, Poton, is the little thunder which says, "ta,ta,ta,ta, boom." Lightning is thought to be part of thunder, is called ka´l:l; a mild thunder [lightning?] is called kal:la´mi.

[755 823] If a person were feverish, a layman with supernatural power might rub him all over with a charmstone (unok). These charmstones are "part of the world, they came that way, they were not made by anyone." Doctors did not use them.

821 262 The rainbow (sai´yap, Chunut; yo´nina, Wukchumni [J.A.]) is made of flowers. It has four stripes: the purple-red stripe is of ka´sy:n flowers whose seeds are greatly prized; blue is of tsa´lu, grass nuts; the yellow is oto´hon, a yellow prairie flower; and the orange of wata´gu, a wild flower "that looks something like a marigold." These flowers or their seeds are all edible except watagu. A rainbow forecast a plentiful food supply, "it will bring a good world [year] and plenty to eat"; but it had no supernatural significance.[26]

[26] A Palligawoosp whom Powers interviewed at the Tule River Reservation stated that "the rainbow is the sister of Polosh [the creator] and her breast is covered with flowers," but he also said that some thought a rainbow marked the first menses of some maiden (p. 395).

[P. 49d] Tulamni

TULAMNI

342 villages the natives live in the winter in very large squares, the families divided from each
361 other, and outside they have very large houses in the form of hemispheres where they keep their seeds and utensils.

412 Utensils.---A metatelike stone mortar, "jars of the same material" (probably steatite vessels), and pattern baskets are mentioned. Skins were used for bedding.

262 Foods.---Pages speaks at length of the animal and vegetable foods available, and, like
136 all early travelers in the region, dwells on their abundance. Of water birds he mentions white, black, and brown geese, ducks, cranes, and white pelicans. He remarks on grouse, "multitudes of quail ... more savory than those of Spain," and many small birds such as
[231] swallows and larks. Eagles measuring "fifteen spans from tip to tip" were seen; eaglets were raised and domesticated but were not eaten. Of land animals, wild sheep, antelope, elk, and deer abounded, and "across the river" [in the Sierra Nevada foothills on the east side of the valley ?] were "buffaloes [sic], bears, wildcats, wolves [sic], coyotes, ferrets and foxes"; in the Santa Lucía range there were panthers [cougar ?].

Of fish there was "an abundance of all species." Seals and otters occurred "as far as one hundred and fifty leagues [sic] upstream in the Rio de San Francisco [San Joaquin River and sloughs]."

262 Several familiar vegetable foods are men-
137 tioned. Three varieties of oak produced acorns, which were prepared by the usual processes of drying, grinding, and leaching. Soaproot, used for washing, was also eaten roasted, as were other tuberous roots and bulbs. Cattail roots were made into flour, and the blossoms into a yellow bread. We can guess that manzanita cider is meant by the "very refreshing drink, somewhat acid" made by soaking the pulp of the fruit of a certain shrub in water. Reeds were dried so that the crystallized juice [sic]

223 237 The eagle's carcass was returned to the hunter who killed it. He put it in the river, completely immersed.

539 773 Eagle lived over the water before the world was changed.[170] It is the only place he can be buried. He rises in three days and goes back to his home which is way back east somewhere. At that place there is one main one (mɛ·ts to·hɔ·l) who says to the risen bird, "Who killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to him, and if he has been treated properly the head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man; he will live to be an old man." If the report was not good, then the man would die right away. The eagle who had been killed never again returned to earth, but kept flying in the opposite direction, upward, higher and higher (S.G.).[171]

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved to be condor (wɛ·ts), "who lived high in the mountains," the bald eagle (wi·´tɛ·s), and grey eagle (ṭoho·l), who was "the only real tiya [chief] and the only one that knew anything." Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G. saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap four days. It did not move as he approached, but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 [136] J.P. said that when a man went out to kill bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too," but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talking to them about what he was going to do. When he was near his prey he would say, "ṭundi´ta pɔ´dta ma ṭupɛ·´nita," (? ? you go-up) so that it would not be offended. When hunting this same animal or its companions, the hunter would be agreeable to it. He would tell it that he would "fix up" its body so that it would go up, ṭi´pɛ·ni. "A mean animal is one that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs away so as not to be killed. In old days a bear would run after people and kill them. A Bear man would go out in the night and prayerfully ask Bear not to keep people from getting their food" [chasing them when they were hunting, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of either animal, though it was said that the most skilled hunters did not resort to this.

The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was made of the entire skin and antlers. In skinning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the [281]

[170] In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals transformed themselves into their present forms. However, in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a rationalization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally and in their myths.

[171] [171] The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

224 hind crotch to the chin. The skin was turned inside out as it was worked off and the antlers
281 removed with it. For the costume, the cut under the throat was sewed up and the head and neck stuffed with shredded tule; the head rested on the man's head, the skin hanging down his back, said S.G. J.B.'s assertion that the hunter looked out through the eye-holes, with the skin tied under his chin, does not sound practical. The bow and arrows were tied
[411] to the body with a belt, in such a way that the weapons pushed the skin up at the back making a more natural appearance. The hunter leaned
224 on two short sticks to assist the four-legged pose as he walked. These he cracked together to suggest fighting deer. With the disguise a man could approach within twenty feet of grazing animals. If one deer fell victim to the silent arrow shot, others ran up to investigate and were killed also.

Three men would engage in a deer drive, two to scare up the deer and one to kill by waiting in ambush on the deer trail.

S.G. has never heard of "charming"
[276] animals, or of smoking oneself and weapons. J.P. said hunters gathered to eat tobacco and lime and to vomit the night before hunting. They rose early, bathed, ate only acorn gruel, and departed in the morning. The only tabu was on saying where one was going, "if you told, you would never see any deer." Neither has he heard of any quarrels over hunting territory or claims on special places since game was so plentiful "nobody cared where anybody else went." Not every hunter was skillful enough to get deer, but a hunter would often take another man along to help him, and this man received
[262] some meat in return. S.G. believes that everybody ate deer meat, but some people do not like bear meat. J.B. said he did not eat cougar flesh although many people did.

● 136 J.P. said "there were five animals just
[262] like deer, everybody ate them" (i.e., they were not totemic). These were: ʔo·ʔkoi, elk, wandered east of the swamps in the valley; soi·ʔyod, a goat with straight horns, belongs in the valley, seen near the foothills at Hadi·ʔdi·t; duwe·ʔsi·p, mountain sheep, had curved horns and belonged in the mountains; wo·ʔkno, antelope, in the foothill valleys, especially in Antelope Valley (Local Map B, no. 13); and hoi, deer.

224 Bear hunting.--Bears were not ordinarily shot at in the open, and were rarely sought as game. The meat was not eaten by many people, and the animal was held in considerable awe. When deliberately sought to be killed, the creature was roused during hibernation, forced to run out into the open, and shot from ambush. The skin, paws, or claws were redeemed by members of the Bear lineage, certain members of which would use these parts in the Bear Dance. As an illustration of the hunting method and its attendant dangers, J.P. told the following:

223 A floating hunting blind, described by
349 S.G., was used by Wukchumni and Gawia on quiet waters, particularly on Woodlake. Two logs about 6 feet long were tied together about a foot from each end with willow-root withes. Horizontally along each side, just at the center, was a long rod held in place by the same bindings. Into the long slot between the rod and the side of the log to which it was fastened, were inserted the butt ends of long round tules, about 4 to 6 feet tall, previously twined together at the butts. The tops of these were drawn together forming an apex over the narrow raft. If the shelter were well made, the tule tops would be sewed together with string (čit·k) on a wooden needle, but if poorly made the tops were tied together in small bunches (see fig. 11). This
[501] floating shelter was used chiefly for duck hunting with bow and arrows. It was poled about, usually by men who worked in pairs, one to pole, the other to shoot.

224 Small game.--S.G. described two traps for small animals. The first, intended for rodents, was merely one large flat rock propped above another by means of a small stick. The bottom of the stick rested on the bait -- usually a roasted acorn -- and gave way when the bait was nibbled. The second was a spring trap set up on the trails of quail, cottontail rabbits, ducks, or geese. A small supple limb was set in the earth if none grew naturally at the desired spot. To its tip was fastened a noose of string (čit·k), the cord of which was tied to a horizontal bar pegged about six inches off the ground. Any creature caught in the noose struggled sufficiently to release the horizontal bar, and animal and bowed limb flew upward.

● [136] Of small animals the following were trapped: ground squirrels (po ˆhot), tree squirrels (sa ˆñsañwide ´´·t), gophers (hu ˆñhed) and chipmunk (aho ´´ŏt).

Smoking out, with aid of the feather fire fan, was the most common method of catching ground squirrels (see Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

A flexible stick with hooked end was used for pulling rodents from their burrows or hiding places. Ground squirrels were forced out or stupefied by smoking. Entries to their burrows were plugged with grass which was fired and kept burning by drafts from a feather fire fan. As the animals attempted to escape or get air at openings they were dragged out with the hook, seized, and their necks broken. A hooked stick of this type in the University of California collections (No. 1-4036) is 49 inches long, approximately 1/4 inch in diameter (fig. 10, a).

Fishing

226 The fishing harpoons were 7 to 12 feet
227 long; different lengths were used for different

252 Deer meat was usually cut into hunks with
262 an obsidian blade and boiled in a clay pot with
[263] salt (tus), according to S.G. But the addition
[412] of salt in cooking was denied as aboriginal by M.L. and M.P., who agreed that in old times salt was only eaten in tiny pinches, usually to accompany vegetable foods, particularly greens. However, all agreed that deer meat was more often roasted than boiled, and that this was done by men.

Ground squirrels and other rodents had the tails broken off, were singed thoroughly on coals, and then were roasted in a hole kept for such purposes close under the fireplace.

Fish were sometimes boiled, but more often were split ventrally and laid on coals which had been pulled from the fire and covered with a layer of sand and grass. In turn, coals were laid atop the fish after they had been protected with another layer of grass and sand.

267 Fish from Lime Kiln Creek, Kaweah River
136 and its several sloughlike branchings, and Wood-
lake were abundant for Wukchumni and Gawia. M.L. described thirteen kinds. The rainbow or "lake" trout (e´p꞉s); minnows [?] (ta´k꞉č), a little fish about 5 inches long; suckers (po´dhoi); another tiny fish "which never grew any larger" (ša´dhui); a [illegible] fish with a short head, a large dors[illegible] and few bones (tu´kmu); perch, a small [illegible]sh (tapo´psu); a trout "with a swallowta[illegible]adu´du); a small fish with lateral fins tha[illegible] looked like pins" (ču´khiu); a large oval fish about fifteen inches long, with a large mouth and "one big back bone" (ṭa´ṭu); a similar fish but smaller (ko´po); a fish which resembled a catfish yet lacked whiskers (ni'e´t꞉č); the "greaser" fish which "has too many bones" (ta´w꞉s); and the catfish (ča´dut). Eels were not seen in Wukchumni territory nor did salmon reach the Kaweah River, M.L. claimed; she added that few of the old varieties of fish were available now.

252 Deer meat to be jerked was cut in lateral
262 strips from an initial cut down the backbone. The back sinews were first removed as they were the most valued. The meat was rubbed with rock salt which was in strong solution or pulverized. The strips of flesh were hung over tree branches where they were not in too hot sun, and turned daily until dry.

Fish were split ventrally and, unsalted, were hung along a slender pole set up on forked sticks in a river bottom. Fish were hung by their gills only when being carried.

323 Yellowjackets' larvae (ka´wa) were a
[262] favorite accompaniment to manzanita berries.[187] The entrance holes to the yellowjackets' nests were watched at sundown; often three or four were located near each other when the returning

[263] [187]The seeds added as flavoring to manzanita cider were
192 also called ka´wa. Analogical naming, perhaps a form of nicknaming, was a favorite Yokuts trick; in this case we cannot be sure whether seeds or larvae are the original "kawa."

[P. 1559] DUMNA

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn),
175 and besides this there are plenty of other supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.---There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house
[514] was completed, a "fandango" was given by the chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mɨs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.---Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tɨl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nɨt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanɨt not identified].

Implements.---The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wɨsča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pɨč (brook trout).

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[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

[P. 189 9] Chuckchansi

283 Cordage and nets.---Milkweed plants were gathered when dry and the bark on the stem stripped off, said J.R. This is easily accomplished when the plants are dessicated. To spin this into string, two strands of the inner fibre were held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, while the loose ends were held on the left (sic) thigh under the palm of the right hand. As the right hand rolled the fibres forward, the left or gripping fingers twisted it along [in which direction?].

This string "never breaks"; long strings were made by tying short ones together.

286 The carrying net was made of milkweed twine. J.R. described it as "with strings at the four corners, by which it could be gathered together, to carry on the back by means of a tumpline." The net was made "by tying two strings to two sticks equal distances apart (to make a fabric 18 in. to 2 ft. wide) and tying other strings to these first two about 2 inches apart." (The recorder doubted that J.R. had seen a net made in many years.) [J.R. may have been describing the fine mesh bag of Miwok type, which may have been used by the Chukchansi rather than the coarser Yokuts type of carrying net.[107]]

283 According to N.W. a string called s'atip was made of the bark of "trees with yellow flowers, just like those apple trees, I think they are, straight, tall, with bunchy branches like almond trees." The flowers grow up the stem "just like hollyhocks, that size, but yellow." The bark was taken in two-inch strips off straight trees selected for the purpose. -- [Fremontia? -- A.H.G.]

283 Woven sacks were made in which pine nuts
286 were stored, said N.W. These were made of milkweed string cloth, woven by the same technique "as the string that holds the baby in the cradle," and sewed up the sides. No dimensions were given; a big wide piece was woven (sic).[108]

281 Rabbitskin blankets.---Rabbitskins were torn into strips and woven into blankets almost as large as modern bed blankets. The feet and tails were fastened around the edge, said N.W. No informant could describe their manufacture. Such blankets were expensive and owners did not want to sell them. In sleeping, one lay under
● [136] them, did not roll up. Not many rabbits were available at Coarse Gold; most were obtained in the foothills at the valley's edge, said J.R.

412 Woman's equipment.---The digging stick (č'opu[i]) was 3 to 6 feet long and 1 to 2 inches

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[171] [107]Barrett and Gifford state that a netted bag was used by the Central Miwok, and imply that a carrying net for large burdens was not employed (Miwok Material Culture, 247, 196).

[171] [108]The technique for making tumplines was not described. Presumably it was like that of the Mukehumni (see fig. 13, Pt. I) particularly as the Miwok method is identical (ibid., pl. LXXVI). It would be possible to make a cloth in this manner, but further evidence is needed before N.W.'s statement can be credited. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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lake (Wukchumni and Gawia) or those of the slough region toward the lake in the tular.

Subsistence materials.---B.O. named the following animals, birds, etc., indicating which were totemic, which used for food and by whom. Many of the words are recognizable as Yokuts, particularly those for creatures not native to Waksachi mountain territory, e.g., soiyo´ti, antelope, e´bis, lake trout.

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Animals:

tuhu´ni: deer; everyone ate

soiyo´ti: antelope; only around flats; all ate (no mountain goat known)

u´nu: grizzly bear; many did not eat; a family totem (ibuk)

tuhu´bu: brown bear: many did not eat; family totem

kutu´huza´giti tuhu´bu: black bear; many did not eat; family totem

iša´buč: coyote; no one ate: "might be somebody's ibuk"; was a dream helper

tuka´wiš: bob-tailed wildcat: "might be somebody's ibuk"

a´otsa: fox; "maybe somebody's ibuk"

tru´nao: badger: some ate; not a totem

tsu´ka: cougar; dream helper for doctors and hunters

ta´bu: brush rabbit; all types of rabbits were eaten by everyone

te´a´wa: cottontail rabbit

to´hpol: jack rabbit; only around flats

wi´jia: squirrel [kind?]; everyone ate

poho´´ot: weasel; doctor's dream helper

pučuko´no: gopher; a secondary ibuk for people with Bear totem

a´čk:t: mole; no one ate

ga´wa: wood rat; some people ate

to·´pi: dark gray wolf [mountain coyote]; no one ate

ti·´buk: beaver

naha´´ots: otter

Birds:

guiñwa´: eagle; chief's totem

kini´: duck hawk; a family totem

wubuyana: "chicken" hawk; a totem for some families (probably redtailed hawk)

kwiša´ra: unidentified, a big hawk; some old people ate

pik: digi: sparrow hawk; not a totem

wihutzai´ya: buzzard; no one ate

we´ja: condor; no one ate

hutu´´du: a "blue" owl; no one ate; a doctor's dream helper; there was also a "yellow" owl whose name B O. could not recall

pa´´ara: crow

ka´rapuč: raven

ča·k: blackbird

či"au´wi: another kind of blackbird

o´čo´čč: magpie

hai´hai: Steller jay; old people ate

šai´go: blue jay; old people ate

hu·phu·´pna: flicker; old people ate

hara´ki: old people ate

´pana´tat: redheaded woodpecker; old people ate

soro´ki: "speckled woodpecker" (possibly Nuttall's woodpecker)

si·´čeč: redbreasted sapsucker; old people ate

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čuču ʼai: bluebird; too small to eat
čini ša: Oregon towhee; too small to eat
tu mna: chickadee; too small to eat
ču ʼi na: Oregon junco
muči ʼuoi na: mockingbird ?, thrasher ?
sagikiyi: goldfinch; "first sign of spring"
troti tːš: Audubon warbler?
so ʼo wi: pigeon; everyone ate
ho mona: valley quail; everyone ate
či pːt: mountain quail; everyone ate
oi ʼoi ʼina: roadrunner; all ate but winatum
saŋa ŋapa: kingfisher
šo ʼšo ʼ: little green heron
wa kːts: blue crane
ko dːto: sand-hill crane
ka hi: grouse
kura vi: duck (kind?)
la la: geese
huihui mus: pelican; flew by to and from lakes
sai ga: mudhen

Insects:
mü yːm: fly
čokoi ʼica: wasp
pe na: yellow jacket
hu biwa: bumble bee
naraposta pe na: hornet
ta beko ʼot: "big stick bee"; kept honey in tree-bark crevices
tsutsu ñːp: tarantula
mu ča: black widow spider

Reptiles and water creatures:
wulu lu: brown lizard
kumče ča: black lizard
wasu ʼi: a large "brush" lizard
musi gi: rattlesnake
paso go: water snake
kolo lki: King snake
o koko: bullfrog
kuai aki: a small frog
a natza na: water dog
ta lːm: speckled trout
e bič: lake trout, not found in Waksachi area
po lhoi: sucker
aiya go: a flat fish (perch?), not found in Waksachi area
gai hːt: salmon, not found in Waksachi area
ta kːts: minnows
a ñya: turtle

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Trees and shrubs:
pohue dopᵃ: valley oak
ya kapᵃ: post oak
wi ʼupᵃ: black oak; the acorns of this made the "best" mush
sakša baː live oak
tikai ya: acorns of all oak species
a psoabᵃ: manzanita
to nap: mountain mahogany (used for plain bow)
no jibᵗ: pepperwood (used for plain bow)
tso poip: chaparral brush (ceanothus?)
wo haba: "Jack" pine
pane wanːp: sugar pine
pone diwa: nut of sugar pine
tu bap: "Digger" pine (piñon)

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the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, including baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

"Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

"The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

"In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

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tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

During the time when salmon were running they undoubtedly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-thief Indians."

The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beautiful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

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501 484 We were almost a day carrying dunnage from Sycamore down to the place where the rafts were built. It could have been ten miles below the rancheria. I do remember that the river was wide there, and that a great quantity of tules grew in a slough leading out from the river. It was in this slough that the raft had been built.

"When we were all aboard, the boats were poled out into the stream and allowed to drift with the current. Three or four of the men stood at the sides of the raft and kept it away from snags and in the main current. In this way we floated along at about two or three miles an hour.

"At night the raft was moored to the bank in a quiet place and we camped on the shore. It was really one of the greatest experiences I have ever had, and certainly the greatest I had while living with the Indians. I believe that they, too, enjoyed these trips more than any of their other experiences. We traveled in style and in comfort. The river was lined with trees and vines and it was one beautiful scene after another.

"In after years I used to cross Kings river many times on the bridge south of Kingsburg and the scene there always reminded me of our trips.

"Of the amount of time used in making the trip to the lake shore I have no accurate recollection. We traveled very slowly and hunted a great deal along the way. Sometimes the hunters did not board the boat at all during the day but met us with game when we had made camp in the evening. I suppose that it must have taken us at least ten days to go from Sycamore creek to Tulare Lake."

SMOKE SIGNALS AND SIGN LANGUAGE

175 202 In the diary kept by J. C. Frémont while he was traveling through the San Joaquin Valley he wrote, under date of April 6, 1844:

"After having traveled 15 miles along the river, we made an early halt, under the shade of sycamore trees. Here we found the San Joaquin coming down from the Sierra with a westerly course, and checking our way, as all its tributaries had previously done.

"We had expected to raft the river; but found a good ford, [136] [probably Gravely Ford, below present Herndon] and encamped on the opposite bank, where droves of wild horses were raising clouds of dust on the prairie.

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The writer has seen arrow and spear points made in this manner. In less than four minutes of measured time a flake was removed from a large piece of obsidian and reduced to a finely worked point. During this time complete explanation was made of the entire process.

I know that this method will be questioned by many laymen, but not by persons who have investigated these methods of manufacture. A popular bit of misinformation will always survive. I have a very distinct recollection of searching through a vineyard for arrow points and Indians beads and of collecting a mixed handful of them only to be told by one of the natives (white) that they were not beads or arrow points, but were pumped from the irrigation well and that they could be found in all parts of the field.

THE ANTELOPE SURROUND

One of the most interesting methods of taking game, common to the Yokuts Indians, is that of the "surround" or "drive". In some cases, as in taking jack rabbits, a net and Indian fence were used.

Probably the largest game taken by driving was antelope. Before the coming of the Americans the San Joaquin Valley was covered with vast herds of these animals. If the descriptions of early travelers and settlers are to be credited, there were probably hundreds of thousands of these animals within a distance of twenty or thirty miles. They ran in herds and covered the surrounding country like a moving tan blanket.

The pronghorned antelope of the San Joaquin Valley is undoubtedly extinct. In the northern portion of California there is a wild game preserve upon which have been placed what are said to be some Great Plains antelope. They are also said to be the same as were those of the San Joaquin Valley.

The horns of the antelope were not shed like the antlers of the deer. Both male and female carried horns. These horns were about ten to twelve inches in height and stood almost erect. The tops curved sharply together in the shape of large question marks. Near the base of each horn was a small webbed point, or eye guard. The base of the horn was rough, but the tip was smooth, like the horn of a cow.

Antelope were probably possessed of more curiosity than any animal with which we are familiar, unless it is the more or less domesticated mule. It was this curiosity which made the

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antelope easy prey for the Indians and which was responsible for the system of hunting known as the Antelope Surround. Undoubtedly this system was used by many Yokuts subtribes. However, our most detailed account of this is reported from the *Koyeti*.

The Koyeti subtribe of Yokuts, of which there are now no full-bloods living, occupied the territory adjacent to lower Tule River from a point above Porterville, known as Chico Flats, down to a point probably two or three miles west of the present Southern Pacific Railroad north of Tipton. This tract of land was called by them *Kia-wit'-nau*. Their principal village was near Porterville and was known as *Cho-ko-wish'-o*. From individual Koyeti and from some accounts given by aged members of neighboring tribes, the details of the Antelope Surround are known.

The *Wukchumne* say that once or twice a year they used to join with other surrounding tribes in aiding the Koyeti with the drive, providing probably a thousand drivers. One or two Indians secreted themselves in the tall grass near a point where antelope were in the habit of watering. Drivers from the several tribes secreted themselves at a distance around this point.

When the antelope began to come to the water hole the two decoy Indians lay on their backs and raised their feet into the air above the grass. In some instances strips of skin, or woven grass, were tied to their feet, which were kicked backward and forward in a way to wave the attached materials before the antelope. It seems no antelope ever lived that was able to resist the temptation of approaching as closely as possible to such a performance. They were as fascinated as is a speeding automobile driver with an approaching passenger train. They would crowd together and circle about the Indians, first at a distance of several hundred yards and then gradually nearer, until, forgetful of everything else, many hundreds of them stood within a few yards of the decoys. Many times this system was used for the purpose of decoying and killing one or two antelope, but upon the occasion of the "surround" the game was not disturbed until the hundreds of scattered Indians had drawn inward and formed a complete circle, or Indian fence, around the huddled band of animals.

When the word was given, the decoys arose and fired into the band, probably killing two or three. As the band attempted

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501 together with twisted hemp or tule rope, or with willow withes. They were pointed at the ends, which were higher than the middle.

In the center of the raft was left a fish spearing hole about [354] a foot in diameter. In front of this hole was placed a thick layer of mud and upon it was kindled a fire. Here game and fish were cooked as needed.

We are told that from two to four Indians would board one of these rafts and go onto the lakes hunting and fishing, to be away from shore for as much as a week or two. During this time they slept upon the raft, or upon the tule islands in the lakes, and fished and hunted and cooked the meat and fish at the fire place on the raft.

501 The Indians learned to make their tule rafts a very ef-
224 fective aid to their hunting and fishing. They threw loose tules over the raft and themselves as a blind, and poled the raft
[223] about the lake, thrusting the pole through the hole in the middle. In this way they were enabled to approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and other water fowl. At places where antelope and elk watered at the lake, or in the streams where they entered the lake, the Indians were also able to approach those animals quite closely and to shoot them with bow and arrow.

501 It is probable that the hole in the middle of the raft was
226 first made for use in spearing fish. We are told that fish used to collect in great numbers under the natural tule mats. The mats were drifted by the wind and the Indians used to walk about over them and spear fish through holes which they cut in the mats. Under the mat there was no reflection from the sun and it was easy to see the fish as they passed underneath. It was also impossible for the fish to see the fishermen.

226 The lake trout, which were greatly prized as food by the
136 Indians, attained a great size. Mr. Fred Wells of Tulare, now past 96 years of age, who fished for the market on the shores of Tulare Lake, tells us that as late as 1880 he caught lake trout weighing more than twenty pounds and more than three feet in length.

Pioneers who came in the early '50's, when the stock of fish had not been depleted, tell us that the fish at that time traveled in great schools which in places almost entirely displaced the water. White fishermen of the 1870's and '80's caught in one haul of a horse-drawn seine as many as eight tons of fish. One of the fishermen who engaged in this work was

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"Jackrabbit" Bill Browning, who passed away near Delano about 1935. Surely the old lakes were a fisherman's paradise.

In addition to the lake trout described, a small turtle was captured in great numbers and shipped to the San Francisco market. Tulare Lake terrapin was a common article on San Francisco and other bay city menus.

SPEARING FISH

Although we hear much about hunting with bows and arrows and we see some bows and arrows in collections of Indian relics, it is probable that throughout a great portion of the San Joaquin Valley the spear was in as common use as was the bow and arrow. This is particularly true along the tule swamps and lake shores throughout the central portion of the valley. And who has seen a Yokuts spear?

From about the shores of Tulare Lake a collection comprising almost 1,000 chipped stone points contains approximately 700 that would be classed as too large for use with an arrow. Several hundred of them are larger than needed for a spear. From what we know concerning the life of the Indians who were here when the white people came, a considerable portion of the fish taken from the lake were obtained by spearing. How this was accomplished upon the lake has been outlined in the preceding chapter concerning fishing rafts.

For a description of the method of taking fish along the various valley streams, we are again indebted to Mayfield. His description brings home to us the fact that the modern salmon spear, or gig, having a detachable point, was used by the local Indians long before white people were known in this territory. His account follows:

"Trout and other large fish were speared with a gig almost like a modern salmon gig. It had a long slender pole for a handle.

"This pole was often as long as twenty feet, and about an inch in diameter. It would be as straight as an arrow, and as smooth as glass.

"A fisherman took a great deal of pride in his fish gig and would keep it polished until it was shiny.

"On the larger end of the pole they would fit two short, pieces of hardwood or bone. One of these was sharp, was lashed on one side of the big end of the pole, and projected beyond the end of the pole about four inches. The other piece was

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227 shorter, and blunt on the end. It was lashed opposite the first, making the two projecting pieces about an inch apart.

"On the blunt end of the second piece was fitted by means of a socket a short, sharp piece of bone or hardwood. It was attached to the pole by means of string through a hole near the middle.

"This string had several inches of slack in it. When the fish was speared, the unjointed tip would pull out, and the socketed tip would be disengaged and turned crossways inside of the fish.

"The fish was then attached to the end of the pole with a short piece of string and could be hauled in without any danger of breaking the gig with its struggling.

"I believe that the unjointed point was necessary in order to keep the other point from slipping off the fish.

"In using the gig they built a sort of scaffolding over the water. A deep place in the stream was selected and two long poles set on end ten or fifteen feet from the bank.

"These poles were about ten feet apart at the bottom and crossed at the top about level with the bank. Where they crossed they were lashed together.

"Then the ends of two more long poles would be placed in the crotch above where the first two poles crossed, with the other ends resting on the bank about ten feet apart.

"This formed two V shaped arrangements with the points of the V's together, the open part of one on the bed of the stream and the other on the bank.

"Across the horizontal poles were laid smaller poles and branches to make a dense shade. The fisherman lay on his stomach on top of the branches and dropped the point of the gig down through an opening in them.

"When the fish passed into the shade below, it could be seen and was promptly gigged."

226 Many of the fish obtained in this manner were known as
● 136 steel heads; they were large fish resembling both the salmon
251 and the trout. The meat of these as well as many others, was dried and smoked in large quantities. Being cured in this way, the fish could be preserved from one year to another. Along the San Joaquin river, we are assured that many tons of salmon were taken each year during the annual "run" and that the bushes and banks about the rancherias were red with drying fish.

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old-time Indians catching elk with a rope like a reata fastened to an oak tree. They bent a limb down to hold the rope. I never saw that, but I am sure they did it.

Once, while we were at Chawlowin, we caught *sah'-pahl* [jack rabbits]. We called the drive *How'-sik Ho-ah'-mah.* There were only about fifty of us to help, but we caught about three hundred rabbits. I helped with two or three other drives near Armona, too. We went to the land east of Chawlowin to catch the rabbits. Most of us just waded across. The water was just up to our waist at the deepest place.

There were thousands of jack rabbits in the brush around the lake. We could see at least three hundred in the open places at one time. We drove them toward the net and made a close line to hold them. Everybody had a stick to throw at the rabbits. We called it *wah-traw'-he.* It was not crooked. It was almost straight. We killed lots of the rabbits with the sticks before they got to the net. When we threw the stick it whirled around and broke their legs if they were running. It was easy to kill jack rabbits with wahtrawhe if you got close to them. Sometimes they would sit quiet until you were right close. If you looked close you would see them and hit them before they jumped up.

When the rabbits got close to the net two or three men ran in with their clubs and killed them. The rest of us stood close together and kept them from running away.

The rabbits were skinned and the meat dried. We did this on the land east of the lake before we went back to Chawlowin. Dried rabbit meat was good with salt from salt grass on it. The skins we cut up to make blankets and capes.

There were lots of fish in Tulare Lake. The one we liked best was *a'-pis,* a big lake trout. They were real big fish, as big as any salmon, and good meat. There was another called *took'-mun.* I think the white people called it chub. It was not a very good fish.

One of the lake fish was *pahl-hoo'-ish.* It was the one you call sucker. Sometimes the steel-heads came in the lake too; so did the salmon. We called the steel heads *tah-wah'-aht* and the salmon *ki'-uh-khot.* We dried lots of fish. When it was dried and smoked, the salmon was the best. We ate salt grass salt with the dried fish. That made it good.

Another great big fish used to come in the lake sometimes. I remember that we caught one at Heuumne when the water was

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low in the creek. We called it *caw'-cuts*. White people call it sturgeon.

While we were at Chawlowin some white men put cattle on the island. The water was low and they drove them across from the east. There were hogs there already, but they were wild. As soon as the white people found out we were there we began to have trouble. The tules were getting dry and we were afraid the white people would burn us out. So we all left. My mother and stepfather took us to Tejon Ranch. We went in his brother's little wagon.

YOIMUT'S STORY
OUR LAST HOME

From *Chaw-lo'-win*, where Alpaugh is now, we went to the Indian camp above the Tejon Ranch house. There were about two hundred Indians there. Some of them were *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) and two *Chumut* (Choo'-noot) who were related to my mother.

My mother had been at Tejon Ranch when she was first married. It was before the soldiers took her from Tulare Lake to the Fresno River Reservation. She was at Tejon about six months, I think. It was called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the canyon where the Indians are now, or in Grapevine Canyon where the Los Angeles highway is now. It was about three or four miles west of the ranch house, on a creek below the hills.

The soldiers lived in tents close to the Indians. I am sure of this. My mother showed me the place and told me all about it. That is the place they called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the mountains. The Indians raised some crops of wheat there close to the hills.

When I was at Tejon Ranch we stayed up in the canyon. My stepfather worked on the Tejon Ranch for a while, but none of us liked it there. The Indians there did not talk our language.

There were more of our people at Tule River Reservation, so we decided to go there. The people at Tejon Ranch wanted the Indians to go to Tule River. Some went before we did. We drove along the foothills in the same little wagon we had brought from the Armona village.

My mother and some of the other Indians told me about the old *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne) village at the end of the hills by the west side of Buena Vista Lake. The Indians had lots of fights with the Spanish there.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

and he made his name feared and dreaded for many a score of miles around. He "bound out" his subjects at will, adults and children alike, to the ranchmen, on life-long indentures.

Nai-ak'-a-we was a famous prophet of the Chŭkchansi, who died in 1854. It is said that his name was known and his power was acknowledged from King's River as far north as Columbia; but this seems hardly probable. Naiakawe had a lofty ambition, and he meditated great and benevolent designs for his people, but he was doomed to disappointment. He sought to mollify those miserable janglings and that clannishness which have been so fatal to the California Indians from time immemorial; to reconcile the warring captains of villages and chiefs of tribes, and thereby harmonize them into one powerful nation, peaceful at home and respected and feared abroad. But the question of a food-supply was one which this savage statesman, however able and far-sighted, could not master. In ancient times they had immense herds of elk and deer, and, sweeping over the plains on their swift mustangs, they could shoot down at any time a fat bronco bogged by the lake (for the Indians of this State used to eat horse-flesh, until the influence of the Americans gradually induced them to abandon it); but now all these were gone, they had to scatter into families to collect food, the wretched feuds of the petty captains were eternally breaking out afresh, and Naiakawe beheld one hope after another and one noble design after another pass away; so he died at last broken-hearted. He said he did not wish to survive the ruin of his people.

Another notable characteristic of the Yokuts is the great influence and extensive journeyings of their wizards or rain-makers (*tëss*). Ke'-ya, who lives at Woodville, is one instance; but the most remarkable is Hop-ōd'-no. Though living at Fort Tejon, he has by his personal presence, his eloquence, and his cunning jugglery, made his fame and authority recognized for two hundred miles northward, to the banks of the San Joaquin. In 1870, the first of two successive years of drought, he made a pilgrimage from the fort up as far as King's River, and at every centrally-located village he made a pause and sent out runners to collect all the Indians of the vicinal villages to listen to him. In long and elaborate harangues he would promise them to bring rain on the dried-up earth, if they would contribute

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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132 climate (BSh), distributed mainly along the western margin and sporadically elsewhere.

134 Soils throughout most of this region are of alluvial valley or valley terrace type. Extensive areas of these are either poorly drained acid soils or are heavily saline, supporting little or no useful vegetation. [137] In the hills to the west and south, are some areas of neutral upland soils, normally favorable to the growth of hardwood trees, especially oaks. In this instance, however, these soils usually are barren because 137 of aridity. In the habitat of the Buena Vista Yokuts, there are only 96 square miles covered predominantly with hardwood trees, but this includes no oaks or other trees economically useful from the standpoint of Indian technology. In the coast ranges to the west of the southern valley Yokuts are 163 square miles occupied by woodland-grass associations (a park landscape of mixed grass and hardwoods) but the trees here are sparse with relatively few oaks. Although included in the area usually attributed to the southern valley Yokuts, there is no evidence that this upland region was exploited. Over most of the entire habitat attributed to the southern valley Yokuts a sparse desert type vegetation prevailed.[3]

133 The rather grim desert environment was mitigated by streams flowing from the mountains. Many of these, especially those draining from the high Sierra Nevada to the east were perennial. Virtually all the drainage went into three shallow basins of Tulare, Kern, and Buena Vista lakes. Only in years of unusually high precipitation in the mountains did overflow water from the lakes drain into the San Joaquin 137 River system and hence reach the ocean. Along streams and stagnant sloughs occurred some shrubs and trees and river bottoms might support lush grasses. The vegetation of primary economic importance was the tule which grew along streams and sloughs and especially in the extensive *tulares* around the marshy margins of the lakes. Tule, hispanicized from the Nahuatl *Tollin*, here is the bullrush, chiefly *Scirpus acutis*.

● 136 Fish, shellfish and waterfowl were the most abundant animal forms. Few deer existed in the area. The California deer is a browsing

[3] See Weislander and Jensen for vegetation data and Storie and Weir [127] for soils data. Other environmental data are summarized from compilations made by the project on a state-wide basis, utilizing a wide variety of government documents, geographical and ethnographic reports, too numerous to list in this short paper, supplemented by spot field observations.

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animal, not a grazing animal and few suitable shrubs and trees grow in the region. There were some herds of antelope, especially in the eastern portions, and some tule elk. Even rabbits were less numerous than in adjoining regions. In the most favorable sections burrows were periodically flooded while elsewhere feed was scanty.

The Tachi Yokuts were located north and west of Tulare Lake. Of the eight locatable Tachi settlements, six were on the sloughs near Tulare Lake or on the shores of the lake itself; two were on the dry plains west of the lake.[4] Each settlement consisted of one, and in most cases probably several, long wedgeshaped houses covered with tule mats and housing several families. Latta claims these sometimes reach the length of 300 feet but most writers consider this excessive.[5] Kroeber cites Gabriel Moraga who visited the Tachi in 1806 and records the range of some 60 to 800 persons for southern Yokuts villages.[6] Moraga's report is suspect but other data suggest that most Tachi villages contain several hundred people.[7]

The location of settlements was importantly influenced by the location and permanence of water. The lake shore itself offered difficulties, for the surrounding terrain is relatively flat and in some places a change of lake level of one foot would shift the lake margin as much as 4 miles.[8] According to Gifford and Schenck when the lake surface was 192 feet above sea-level, only 300 square miles was covered, but at its highest level of 220 feet, the area was 800 square miles. The highest level was unstable and villages located with reference to this might at many times have no access to water. The 500 square miles between the lower and the highest level, was marshly and "an area in which man could not have resided permanently."[9] Consequently, the most desirable sites were on permanent sloughs offering access to the lake but located on ground high enough to be out of flood water. Some of the Yokuts, possibly including the Tachi, when they could not find a sufficiently elevated house site would raise the floor by carrying in baskets of earth. In addition, the Tachi and

[4] GAYTON, 1948 map. 2; KROEBER, p. 484, plate 47; LATTA, p. 13.
[5] LATTA, p. 90.
[6] KROEBER, p. 491.
[7] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[8] LATTA, p. 30.
[9] GIFFORD and SCHENCK, pp. 8-11 .

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their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope. Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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did not secure enough rabbit skins for their own needs, securing additional skins in trade from the east.

These conclusions are supported by data from the only large archeological excavations in the near vicinity, on Buena Vista lake to the south, with very similar environmental conditions. Wedel reports that at one site in 3700 cubic yards excavated only 1053 animal bones were recovered. Of these, 411 were bird bones and 142 terrapin bones. Elk and antelope numbered 61 and 45 respectively. Two hundred and one rabbit bones were found, most of them jack-rabbits (*Lepus*). In contrast to the small number of elk and antelope bones, bones from the genus *Canis* (probably mostly domestic dogs, but including some coyote) numbered 127.[12]

The Tachi, to some extent, were middlemen in the trade of sea shells from the ocean to the interior and are reported to have done some processing of ocean shells secured in trade from neighbors to the west. Considering their environment, the Tachi apparently were dependent upon their neighbors, especially those to the east, for the following items: obsidian, steatite, stone mortars, oak mortars, pestles and sinew backed juniper bows. In addition, they traded for pottery, basketry, pigments, rabbitskins and rabbitskin blankets and acorns. In exchange they provided lake products including fish, tule mats, salt from salt grass and shell "money" they manufactured from shells secured in trade. That the lake resources were important is indicated by the fact that, although some Yokuts' neighbors were allowed to visit the lake themselves, trade with westerners was carried on at a distance from the lake apparently in part with the intention of preventing them from learning the techniques of securing the products.

The picture emerges clearly, then, of a desert-dwelling people who, paradoxically, were oriented toward a water-based economy. Without the lakes, marshes, and sloughs, the land would have supported only the scantiest population, and, in fact, large areas, especially to the west, were rarely visited. For the Tachi the acorn appears as a relatively unimportant luxury and not as a staple.

If we turn to non-material culture, the differences between the lake dwellers as exemplified by the Tachi, and the acorn using Yokuts to the east, largely disappear. In the existence of "tribes" sharing a common dialect and capable of common action, the existence of semi-

[12] WEDEL, p. 11. The remaining data on the Tachi and their neighbors are from Gayton, Kroeber and Latta.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

river well hidden. At dawn we departed to arrive at daybreak at the place where I had been told I would find the Rancherías of Chaneches, and the captain, Sola, a Christian from Santa Cruz, with others from that mission. The journey made today has been 12 leagues through the middle of marshes, tulares, willow thickets, and sloughs. In one of these there fell and died a mule from San Miguel. The sky covered with clouds, and with a south wind. At 7 P.M. rain commenced. At 8 P.M. the herd stampeded and was recovered with difficulty. One soldier lost his horse and gun. I crossed [recrossed?] the river at 10 o'clock [that night, or following morning?].

Monday, 8.—It rained all night, with the wind south. It began to clear, with less water. I re-counted the horses; 28 were lacking, but soon recovered. Also at 11 A.M., up to which time it rained slightly, the gun was found. At once started the march as it was said to be 9 leagues to Ranchería Caneche, for the purpose of nearing it. After going 4 leagues I saw the bones of long-dead horses at a slough. I followed it and got lost because of the swamps and tules that are along the margins of the river. I wound about through various sloughs partly filled with water; others were passable. On their banks among the tules were built many huts such as the Indians sleep in; but by the signs they [the owners] were already gone many days.

In all the sloughs about the river that had water were many fish; a very savory kind of anchovy, pike [?, *mojarras*], and many shellfish, of which the troop and I ate abundantly.

As far as this spot I have observed along all the said sloughs and in some parts on the river banks on which there are trees, many burrows [*abujeros*] of beavers or nutrias in fresh water.

I sent off [men] on foot to follow the horsetracks or in case an Indian were seen on foot. Not having encountered anyone, I followed the road north for 6 leagues [copy of Nov. 19: 4 leagues]. At night we stopped at a slough where we found water and the same signs of beaver.

Tuesday, 9.—At dawn sent four Indians to take note of the many sloughs and swamps of this plain to look for fords and the road to be followed to the Chinecheo and the Merced River. They returned at 8 A.M. saying that they had not found a single track, and that they could not journey toward the east because of the swamps and tules. Therefore, I followed the north shore of the San Joaquin River. After going about 2 leagues I saw a lone Indian, laden with belongings, on the opposite side of the river; I followed and overtook him. Having asked him several questions to discover where the Chenechos [copy of Nov. 19: Chanechos] were located, he declared that he had been going along alone many days, that all the people had scattered for fear of the troops from San Francisco, and because they knew of my coming according to notice communicated by the natives from rancherías to the south. In reconnoitering the site only one house for one person was found. Having to threaten the man to tell and to lead me to said ranchería, he maintained ignorance and continued to insist that that was the place where he had left them, and that since that time he had seen no one. I secured the Indian, forded

538 house in the early evening and stay till they
C883] were "chased home."

171 It is apparent, however, that the "animal
538 transformation" episode serves as a closing incident. While this event is the subject of complete tales, fully developed, it appears in contracted form at the end of almost any myth. This is true of Yokuts and Western Mono particularly, and is somewhat less characteristic of Owens Valley Paiute, Miwok, and Pomo. As tales of more northerly groups are examined, this ending, describing a group transformation which signified the ending of one era and the beginning of the present, gives way to single transformations, either of one's self or another. This individual transformation blends into the Transformer Concept of Plateau-Northwest Coast distribution.

[533] Songs are more frequently introduced in Western Mono myths than in Yokuts, one trait among many which show the close kin of Mono tales with those of the Basin Shoshoneans.[10] On the other hand, conversation appears more often as a stylistic device in Yokuts myths.

538 The persons participating in the tales are
776 few, almost exclusively those "great ones" whose
825 lineages are important in actuality: Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Coyote, Dove, Crow. Eagle is the creator, but is seldom an actor; there is never a hint that he is anything but wise, just, and powerful. Wolf is the creator or a participant in Western Mono and Yauelmani creation tales. Coyote plays a dual rôle, that of creator or, more often, assistant creator, and that of a dupe. Falcon,[11] the fighter and gambler, is the only person to be favored with a metaphorical title: he is often called "The Fearsome One" (ṭanyiṭit).[12]

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[10]Cf. Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology.

171 [11]The simple form "Falcon" has been used
825 throughout as there is doubt in any given instance whether it is the prairie falcon or the peregrine falcon (duck hawk) which is meant. The Yokuts li'mik is supposed to be the prairie falcon (Falco mexicanus) which is identified with kini', the duck hawk (Falco peregrinus anatum), by the Western Mono. For the foothill Yokuts and the Mono mountaineers it is possible that the duck hawk is thought of as the hero. The two birds are not readily distinguishable: "The Prairie Falcon resembles the Duck Hawk in size and actions, though it is not as courageous and 'noble' as the latter .... Both Falcons nest on ledges or in caves of cliffs but the Duck Hawk's aerie commonly overlooks water, while the Prairie Falcon frequently nests in very arid country" (May, Hawks of North America, 107). (See Falcon's Home, abstract 86.)

● 136 [12]The peregrine falcon (duck hawk) "....is, perhaps the most highly specialized and superlatively well-developed flying organism on our planet today, combining in a marvellous degree the highest powers of speed and aerial adroitness with massive, warlike strength. A powerful, wild, majestic, independent bird, living on the choicest of clean, carnal food, plucked fresh

[A II-A]

538 His association with Crow is notable. The animal
776 characteristics of these persons are occasionally
825 pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

[Text continued top page II-B.- Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly character-
171 ized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts
538 tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology
773 of the Central California folk-tale area. This area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the
[197] Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 The mythology deals with events and adven-
538 tures in the lives of a superhuman as well as
773 prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would
773 feel that the creation tales should come first,
115 merely as a matter of logic. The Michahai in-
538 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

●[136] from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting G. H. Thayer).

[13] Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MM:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14] Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15] Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16] System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page II-B.—Analyst]